4:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
848 new world of physical events and human relationships.
857 By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become single-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food
867 containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
858 cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the elder women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

861 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 867 858 served husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men. No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.

The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of 154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field 883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically 661 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[9] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [8] There are naturally emotional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case* 605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 137-43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up 582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousin-in-evidence (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 279-84). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes many disapproval among the old.

[9] Hortense and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Ethnological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms., 1938).